

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:OVIP (HENRY A. KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: EUR BRIEFING MEMO ON CYPRUS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM EAGLEBURGER

REFERENCE: SECTO 16099

1. EUR PREPARED THE FOLLOWING CHRONOLOGY ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1974 FOR YOUR USE IN BRIEFING CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS. IT COVERS THE PERIOD FROM JULY 15 TO THAT DATE.

U.S. ACTION SINCE JULY 15 REGARDING CYPRUS

JULY 15-31

-- AFTER THE CYPRUS NATIONAL GUARD TOPPLED MAKARIOS ON JULY 15, OUR EFFORTS WERE AIMED AT ENSURING CONSULTATIONS UNDER THE LONDON AND ZURICH AGREEMENTS. UNDER SECRETARY OF SECRET

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STATE SISCO WAS SENT TO LONDON. WHEN IT APPEARED THE GREEKS WOULD NOT ATTEND THE LONDON MEETING, UNDER SECRETARY SISCO WENT TO ATHENS AND CONVINCED THE GREEK GOVERNMENT TO GO TO LONDON. HE THEN WENT TO ANKARA TO URGE TURKEY NOT TO INTERVENE IN CYPRUS.

-- ONCE THE FIGHTING BROKE OUT, OUR EFFORTS WERE DIRECTED AT PREVENTING A GREEK-TURKISH WAR, OBTAINING A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES ON CYPRUS, AND LAUNCHING NEGOTIATIONS. MR. SISCO SHUTTLED BETWEEN ATHENS AND ANKARA, AND I WAS FREQUENTLY ON THE TELEPHONE TO THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER (JULY 20-21). I ALSO TALKED BY TELEPHONE WITH LEADERS OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT. WE WERE SUCCESSFUL IN GETTING TALKS STARTED IN GENEVA THE LAST WEEK OF JULY.

-- THE SITUATION IN GREECE AND ON CYPRUS HAD IN THE MEAN-TIME CHANGED DRAMATICALLY. THE GREEK MILITARY JUNTA IN ATHENS FELT COMPELLED TO HAND OVER AUTHORITY TO A RESPECTED NATIONAL POLITICAL FIGURE, CONSTANTINE CARAMANLIS. THE JUNTA'S HAND-PICKED GOVERNMENT IN NICOSIA ABDICATED UNDER SIMILAR CIRCUMSTANCES, AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL SUCCESSOR TO ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS, GLAFKOS CLERIDES, WAS SWORN IN.

-- WE NOW HAD IN ATHENS AND ON CYPRUS REASONABLE MEN IN POWER WHOM WE WERE ACTIVELY SUPPORTING IN OUR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS. WE PLEDGED TO THE NEWLY FORMED CARAMANLIS GOVERNMENT OUR FULLEST SUPPORT.

-- THE GREEK GOVERNMENT AGREED NOT TO GO TO WAR WITH TURKEY AND TO SEEK A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AT A GENEVA CONFERENCE WHICH FINALLY GOT UNDER WAY ON JULY 25.

-- ON THE INVITATION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, ASSISTANT SECRETARY BUFFUM WAS SENT TO GENEVA TO OBSERVE THE NEGOTIATIONS AND PROVIDE ANY FACILITATIVE ASSISTANCE TO THE PARTIES. MR. BUFFUM MET WITH ALL THE DELEGATIONS AT GENEVA, ENCOURAGING THE GREEKS AND TURKS TO ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE. WE SUGGESTED LANGUAGE REGARDING A CEASEFIRE AND THE SCHEDULING OF FURTHER SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH FORMED THE BASIS OF A DECLARATION BY THE PARTIES ON JULY 30.

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AUGUST 1-16

-- THE GENEVA TALKS WERE THEN RECESSED TO GIVE QUIET DIPLOMACY A CHANCE TO WORK. I ASKED ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN TO PROCEED TO NICOSIA, ANKARA, AND ATHENS TO URGE ON THE PARTIES THE IMPORTANCE OF RESTRAINT ON THE GROUND IN CYPRUS AND TO TRY TO GET THEIR IDEAS ON THE PARAMETERS OF A DURABLE SETTLEMENT TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. HE DISCOVERED, UNFORTUNATELY, THAT BOTH SIDES WERE RELUCTANT TO REVEAL TO US THEIR BARGAINING POSITIONS OR TO DISCUSS FRANKLY THEIR OVERALL OBJECTIVES.

-- THE GENEVA TALKS RESUMED ON AUGUST 8, INCLUDING THIS TIME THE LEADERS OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT AND TURKISH CYPRIOT

COMMUNITIES. MR. HARTMAN WAS IN GENEVA AS THE U.S. OBSERVER AND HE MAINTAINED CONSTANT CONTACT WITH ALL PARTIES, AS THE UNITED STATES URGED FLEXIBLE, CONSTRUCTIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

-- AN IMPASSE SOON DEVELOPED OVER THE DEFINITION AND EXTENT OF AN AUTONOMOUS AREA FOR TURKISH CYPRIOTS. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT AND THE GREEK CYPRIOTS REFUSED TO ACCEPT TURKISH DEMANDS FOR A "FEDERATED" CYPRUS WITHIN THE TURKISH TIME LIMIT WHICH EXPIRED AUGUST 14.

-- IN A NUMBER OF PHONE CONVERSATIONS I PRESSED PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT FOR A 36-HOUR DELAY TO ANY PLANNED RESUMPTION OF MILITARY ACTION SO THAT DIPLOMACY COULD BE GIVEN A FURTHER CHANCE TO WORK. OUR APPEAL WAS UNAVAILING.

-- WHEN HOSTILITIES RESUMED ON AUGUST 14, WE INFORMED THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT THAT ITS ACTION WAS COMPLETELY UNJUSTIFIED, AND WE PUBLICLY DEPLORED IT. IN THE ENSUING DAYS I WAS IN FREQUENT CONTACT WITH ECEVIT, URGING A CEASEFIRE AND THE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS.

-- ON AUGUST 14, I ALSO MADE CLEAR TO CARAMANLIS THAT WE DEPLORED THE TURKISH RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES AND THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WAS PREPARED TO ENGAGE ITSELF MORE DIRECTLY IN NEGOTIATIONS. WE INVITED BOTH FOREIGN MINISTER
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MAVROS AND CARAMANLIS TO COME TO WASHINGTON TO DISCUSS WAYS WE COULD HELP ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT. THEY WERE UNABLE TO LEAVE GREECE AT THAT TIME.

-- LATER, ON AUGUST 16, I TOLD CARAMANLIS THAT I HAD PERSONALLY EXPRESSED TO ECEVIT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S STRONG DISAPPROVAL OF TURKISH ACTIONS AND THAT PRESIDENT FORD WAS ALSO URGING IMMEDIATE TURKISH COMPLIANCE WITH THE CEASEFIRE. I INFORMED CARAMANLIS THAT AS A RESULT OF OUR EFFORTS THE

TURKISH PRIME MINISTER HAD ASSURED ME THAT MILITARY OPERATIONS WOULD CEASE ON CYPRUS LATER THAT DAY.

AUGUST 17-SEPTEMBER 25

-- CARAMANLIS REPLIED TO MY TWO MESSAGES EMPHASIZING THAT IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR GREECE TO RETURN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN THE FACE OF TURKISH FAIT ACCOMPLIS. THE GREEK PRIME MINISTER CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT TURKEY MUST WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS TO ITS AUGUST 9 LINE.

-- ON AUGUST 18, I TOLD CARAMANLIS WE UNDERSTOOD THE NEED FOR A SETTLEMENT WHICH PRESERVES GREEK HONOR. I ALSO EXPLAINED TO THE GREEK PRIME MINISTER THAT IN OUR

JUDGMENT ONLY THE USE OF FORCE BY THE U.S. COULD HAVE PREVENTED THE RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES. I ASSURED CARAMANLIS THAT WE WOULD STRONGLY PRESS THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO MAKE PROPOSALS THAT TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF GREECE AND THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. I FOLLOWED UP THE NEXT DAY BY ASSURING CARAMANLIS THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD FIRM ASSURANCES FROM ECEVIT ON THE STRICT MAINTENANCE OF THE CEASEFIRE.

-- TO BOLSTER FURTHER THE GREEK GOVERNMENT'S CONFIDENCE THAT WE WOULD BE FAIR AND EVENHANDED, I MADE SIX POINTS ON BEHALF OF PRESIDENT FORD AT MY AUGUST 19 PRESS CONFERENCE: (1) THE UNITED STATES SHALL INSIST ON THE STRICT MAINTENANCE OF THE CEASEFIRE ON CYPRUS. (2) THE IMPERATIVE AND URGENT NEED IS TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS. (3) WE WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT EFFORTS TO BRING THE PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. (4) THE UNITED STATES WILL PLAY
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ANY ROLE REQUESTED BY THE PARTIES. WE ARE ALSO PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE ABLE EFFORTS OF THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY IN THIS REGARD. (5) IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, WE BELIEVE IT WILL BE NECESSARY FOR TURKEY, AS THE STRONGER POWER ON THE GROUND, TO DISPLAY FLEXIBILITY AND A CONCERN FOR GREEK SENSITIVITIES, BOTH IN TERMS OF TERRITORY AND THE SIZE OF MILITARY FORCES ON THE ISLAND. (6) THE UNITED STATES GREATLY VALUES THE TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP OF GREECE. IT HAS THE HIGHEST REGARD FOR PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS, AND WISHES EVERY SUCCESS TO HIS DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. WE WILL USE OUR INFLUENCE IN ANY NEGOTIATION TO TAKE INTO FULL ACCOUNT GREEK HONOR AND NATIONAL DIGNITY.

-- ON AUGUST 21, BRITAIN CALLED FOR NEW GENEVA TALKS. THEY SOUGHT TO ENCOURAGE ANKARA TO PROVIDE SOME PRIOR CONCESSIONS TO THE GREEKS -- IN ADVANCE OF ACTUAL NEGOTIA-

TABLE. THIS INITIATIVE, WHICH WE SUPPORTED, FAILED.

-- DURING LATE AUGUST AND EARLY SEPTEMBER WE RECEIVED VARIOUS REPORTS THAT THERE WOULD BE A THIRD PHASE OF TURKISH MILITARY ADVANCES DESIGNED TO "RESCUE" TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN GREEK-HELD AREAS. THE GREEK GOVERNMENT HAD ALSO BEEN RECEIVING SIMILAR INDICATIONS OF RENEWED HOSTILITIES. I QUICKLY TOOK THIS MATTER UP WITH ECEVIT, MAKING CLEAR TO HIM THAT THE U.S. GOVERNMENT COULD NOT TOLERATE ANY FURTHER CEASEFIRE VIOLATIONS. ECEVIT ASSURED US THAT THERE WOULD BE NONE, AND SO FAR THE TURKS ARE ADHERING TO THIS ASSURANCE.

-- ON AUGUST 25, I LAUNCHED MY OWN INITIATIVE TO MOVE NEGOTIATIONS. I SUGGESTED TO CARAMANLIS THAT WE AGREE TO

ESTABLISH A CONFIDENTIAL CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION. CARAMANLIS AGREED AND ON SEPTEMBER 9-10 RECEIVED MY CONFIDENTIAL EMISSARY IN ATHENS. THE FULL RANGE OF U.S.-GREEK RELATIONS AND PROSPECTS FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WERE DISCUSSED. CARAMANLIS EXPRESSED INTEREST IN U.S. ROLE IN INDIRECT NEGOTIATIONS.

-- DURING THIS PERIOD I ALSO SENT DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY

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TARY STABLER TO ANKARA TO DISCUSS WITH ECEVIT, U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, POPPIES, AS WELL AS CYPRUS QUESTION. ECEVIT AGREED THAT A TURKISH GESTURE WOULD BE MADE WHEN THE GREEK POSITION ON NEGOTIATIONS BECAME CLEARER.

-- SINCE AUGUST 26 THE LEADERS OF THE GREEK AND TURKISH COMMUNITIES ON CYPRUS, CLERIDES AND DENKTASH, HAVE BEEN MEETING REGULARLY TO DISCUSS HUMANITARIAN ISSUES UNDER UN AUSPICES. WE HAVE GIVEN FULL SUPPORT TO THIS EFFORT AND TO THEIR PRIVATE DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL ISSUES.

-- DENKTASH AND CLERIDES HAVE AGREED ON PRISONER EXCHANGES AND IN PRIVATE THEY ARE DISCUSSING THE ELEMENTS OF A POLITICAL SOLUTION.

-- WE BELIEVE THAT U.S. INFLUENCE IN ANKARA WILL BE NEEDED TO EXTRACT THE NECESSARY INITIAL TURKISH CONCESSION TO GET INDIRECT NEGOTIATIONS UNDER WAY OR TO EXPAND THE COMMUNAL TALKS IN NICOSIA TO DEAL WITH MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES.

-- ON SEPTEMBER 24 I MET SEPARATELY IN NEW YORK WITH THE GREEK AND TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTERS. THEY BOTH AGREED THAT A U.S. ROLE WOULD BE USEFUL TO ESTABLISH A FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

-- THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER IS NOW AWAITING CARAMANLIS' REACTION TO MY PROPOSAL THAT, ONCE THE GREEK POSITION IS CLARIFIED, WE APPROACH THE TURKS TO OBTAIN THE NECESSARY GESTURE.

-- I WILL BE SEEING THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER AGAIN SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, AND THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER ON MONDAY. WE HOPE THAT FROM THESE TALKS WILL DEVELOP A STRATEGY THAT PERMITS THE U.S. TO USE ITS CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE TO MOVE THE PARTIES TOWARD A SOLUTION. INGERSOLL

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